KEY TO THE BERLIN DEADLOCK: J. A. DEL VAYO

THE Nation

February 13, 1954

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The Real Split

by P. M. S. Blackett

and the

Problem of Poverty

A Book Review by Keith Hutchison

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee

FEB 18 1954

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Around the U. S. A.

The Books Didn't Burn in Brooksville

WHEN the teacher of the class in democracy at Hernando County High School in Brooksville, Florida, sent her students to the town library to determine the difference between fascism, communism, and democracy, she was alarmed at the results. They were able to find plenty of material because the library had a benefactor with a lifelong interest in politics—the American diplomat Colonel Raymond Robins.

When the teacher saw the items the students had collected, she notified the school principal, W. A. Biggart, who complained to the library board and local American Legion officials that the library contained "communistic" material. A complaint was also filed with the F. B. I. The material referred to included books on the Soviet Union and the magazines *The Nation* and the *New Republic*.

The case attracted public attention two months later when Joe Jenkins, state chairman of the Un-Americanism Commission of the American Legion, spoke in Brooksville. As quoted in the Brooksville *Sun,* Jenkins, one of Florida's super-patriots, praised the library board for protecting the public from "literary poison" by removing the dangerous books and pamphlets from the shelves. Wire-service reporters, aware that such action by even the smallest libraries is worth noting, began to ask: "What has happened to Brooksville's books?"

It was discovered that Paul B. Parker, retired army colonel and member of the library board, had acted as a committee of one to select the titles to be banned from the library. Parker refused to give any further information, saying, "I think a small commotion is being made of nothing. It is an internal matter and we don't want widespread notice." Some people were reminded of the wolves in Thurber's "Fables for Moderns," who after gobbling up the rabbits met public criticism by saying, "This is now an internal matter and we refuse to discuss it."

Herbert Cameron of the Tampa *Tribune* learned that the commander of the Legion's Brooksville post, Fraser Mountain, sent the library, at its request, a list of books approved by national Legion headquarters. Mr. Mountain was reported also to have sent national headquarters a list of the material removed from the library. Cameron quoted John Bell, chairman of the library board, as saying that all questionable books on communism were taken from the shelves and only those approved by the Legion were left.

BROOKSVILLE'S book purge is important because it provides the first instance of books actually being removed from a public library. In addition, it is the first attack on books motivated at least partly by a desire to embarrass a library founder and donor. This purpose was brought out when a member of the library board, Lisa von Borowsky, declared that the affair was an attack upon her and Colonel Robins. "I can tell you exactly how some of those magazines got there," said Miss von Borowsky. She had brought them from Colonel Robins's estate at Chinsegut Hill when he turned it over to the Interior Department as a conservation project. She was sure their removal was an attempt to smear Colonel Robins by "people who have a mistaken idea of how to be patriots."

Raymond Robins retired to Chinsegut north of Brooksville after a long and colorful career in domestic and international affairs. Here he introduced into the United States the useful Rhodes grass, given to him in Africa by his friend Cecil Rhodes. As a young man he had made a fortune in the Klondike gold rush and later became active in Chicago politics. He was the Bull Moose Progressive Party's candidate for United States Senator from Illinois and was permanent chairman of the party's 1916 convention. A colonel in the army in the First World War, he served as President Wilson's personal representative in Russia in 1917-18 and as commander of the American Red Cross mission in Russia. While there, he met Trotsky and Kerensky and carried on the United States government's relations with Lenin. In 1933 he went on an 1,800 mile tour of the U. S. S. R.

Robins, now eighty-one and ailing, has made no statement about the present book purge. It is remembered by some of Brooksville's older citizens that his wife, the late Margaret D. Robins, former head of the Women's Trade Union League and associate of Jane Addams in Chicago, founded the Bookshop of the Tamiami Trail in 1925 and contributed several thousand books to it. These volumes became the nucleus of the Frederick Eugene Lykes, Jr., Memorial Library, the present Brooksville town library. As recently as 1951 Colonel Robins contributed $1,500 toward the purchase of children's books for the library.

It is not surprising that Brooksville's super-patriots were opposed to a public airing of the controversy. A former resident has observed that the town never welcomed public scrutiny. He recalls that in 1950 a Negro, David Reese, was arrested in connection with the death of a law-enforcement officer but was never charged. He was held in the local jail, without charge, for nineteen months, and no one during this time publicly demanded his release.

The book case has now finally been settled. Public criticism coupled with the attitude of a majority of the library-board members and the mayor, has brought about the replacement of the books on the shelves. The board based its decision on President Eisenhower's address to the American Library Association's annual convention in Los Angeles last year, in the course of which he said: "The libraries of America are and must ever remain the homes of free and inquiring minds. . . . We must always be alert to the grave danger of meeting fanaticism with ignorance."

GEORGE PENTY AND JAMES CROWN

[*The authors have contributed articles on Southern politics to previous issues of* The Nation. *Mr. Crown is with the Department of Government of New York University; Mr. Penty is a journalist.*]

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EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

The Will but Not the Courage

Once again, as so many times in the past, the men of good-will in the Senate have been unable to muster enough courage to offer a direct challenge to McCarthy. After three hours of excessively silly debate on the Fort Monmouth investigation, with McCarthy insisting that he had turned up a case of "very, very current espionage," the Senate approved an appropriation of $214,000 for his Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations by a roll-call vote of 85 to 1—Senator J. William Fulbright being the lone dissenter.

Led by David Lawrence, the right-wing columnists and commentators were quick to interpret the vote as further evidence of the "grass-roots" potency of the "anti-Communist" issue. It is not that. What this and similar votes in the past prove is the fear of men of good-will to be falsely branded as abettors of evil. Again and again McCarthy kept asking his colleagues if any of them were opposed to the exposure of Communists and the jailing of party leaders for contempt. The silence, of course, was oppressive. Nor was he directly challenged when he said: "The [Communist] party is going to bleed very heavily. We will send its leaders to jail, not because of technical convictions of espionage, but for contempt of this committee. You must remember that Al Capone wasn't sent to jail for the St. Valentine's massacre but for income-tax evasion." If proof were wanting that the committee is out to trap witnesses, thereby abusing the right of inquiry by converting it into an instrument to punish political offenders, Senator McCarthy supplied it with this frank statement.

"Twenty Years of Treason"

Having racked up the tidy 85-to-1 vote in the Senate, the Senator left on a speaking junket which opened, quite appropriately, at Charleston, West Virginia, the scene of his first great triumph in the use of the Big Lie technique, and will take in Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, South Dakota, and California (three appearances), closing, again quite appropriately, in Dallas, Texas, where McCarthy has so many oil millionaires as fans that he has come to be known as "the Senator from Texas." All the occasions are Republican Lincoln Day dinners with the exception of the Los Angeles meeting, which will be sponsored by Dr. James Fifield, of the First Congregational Church, whose Freedom Clubs and Spiritual Mobilization movement might be described as propaganda arms of the Republican Party. The subject of the Senator's talks will be "Twenty Years of Treason," and in Dallas the tab will be $100 a plate. What ever happened to the theory that the nominal head of the Republican Party was "embarrassed" by the Senator from Wisconsin?

Eden Plus Molotov

It is easy to sum up last week's events in Berlin, reported on later pages of this issue. Stripped down, the words of West and East meant the same thing: each would accept a formula for the unification of Germany which fortified its own power position, and would accept nothing less. The election plan proposed by Mr. Eden was infinitely superior to that of Mr. Molotov, and was made to sound better still by the repeated assurance that a reunited Germany might freely choose whether to ally itself with East or West. But the West could afford to be generous. It knew it was taking little or no risk; first, because it expected Russia to reject the plan and, second, because if Russia should by any chance agree, a free election, Western style, would certainly go heavily against the Communists and insure all-German indorsement of E. D. C. and the European army. Mr. Molotov's election-and-unification plan was baldly cut to the Soviet–East European pattern, but his proposal of a united Germany, pledged by treaty to neutrality and permitted a small army for security purposes only, was vastly preferable to the Western E. D. C. program with German divisions as its military core.

As the week began and the talks shifted to Austria and Asia, the deadlock looked unbreakable. But public demand for a German settlement that would ease the cold war might yet force the only sort of compromise that makes sense—a combination of Eden's free-election proposal with Molotov's plan for a neutral, demilitarized Germany, guaranteed by the four big powers. This would end Soviet control of East Germany and prevent Russian expansion westward; it would also end the threat of re-

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vived German armed might in a Western military alliance. Both sides would sacrifice power; both would gain security. And peace might have a chance.

French Socialist Schism

Our Paris correspondent writes: French Socialist leaders have knocked on the head a lot of "popular front" talk that has been going on since the joint Socialist-Communist victory in the election of M. le Trocquer, Socialist, to succeed Edouard Herriot as president of the National Assembly. Only a few days after the vote Jules Moch, though largely in agreement with the Communists on the question of the European army, said that he wanted to make one thing clear: he was all in favor of a rapprochement between France and the Soviet Union, but he was against a rapprochement between Socialists and Communists in France.

At a recent meeting the Directing Committee of the Socialist Party reiterated its views on the European Defense Community, insisting on (1) an American guaranty that it would maintain troops in Europe, (2) Britain's close association with the E. D. C., and (3) the creation of a political authority. To satisfy the "anti-E. D. C. minority," the committee also decided that a full-dress debate in the Assembly must precede ratification. It should be noted that the anti-E. D. C. Socialists, though only a minority on the Directing Committee, probably constitute a majority of the Socialist representation in the Assembly. Daniel Mayer, one of the strongest opponents of the European army, was elected president of the party's Foreign Affairs Commission.

Now that the M. R. P. has become almost exclusively a conservative group, many Socialists are undoubtedly tending to move closer to the Communists; in the view of the leaders a large part of the rank and file has become "contaminated" by Communist ideas on both domestic and international problems. This struggle within the party is particularly important, since ultimately the Socialist vote will determine whether the Assembly will ratify or turn down the E. D. C.

Guilt by Education

Recently the author of the nationally syndicated unsigned column The National Observer came up with some startling conclusions as to why certain Americans have been attracted to communism. First of all, they were "just not our kind of people." For one thing they were "overeducated"; they simply "did not have the guts to get out of school and go to work." Generally "their lack of guts, their sense of insecurity, and their cowardice were demonstrated by their rush to accept government employment, just as they had been unhappily content with poor pay as collegiate instructors and beneficiaries

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of fellowship grants. . . . They tossed Adam Smith out of the campus window in favor of Karl Marx. . . . They were psychopathic, not true Americans."

Taking note of the column, the Michigan State College chapter of the American Association of University Professors has adopted the following resolution of censure:

> The column . . . implicitly discredits the higher educational institutions of this country in their function of advancing and strengthening the cause of democracy, and repudiates the aims of the American tradition of education . . . casts a slur on the integrity of purpose of candidates for advanced degrees in every American educational institution . . . reflects unfavorably on all members of the academic profession, their aims, their loyalty, and their place within the American system . . . (and) by its use of biased language and unsupported generalities, and by its introduction of a startling and dangerous doctrine, guilt by education, is directly prejudicial to the professional standing and interests of educators and students everywhere.

The East Lansing professors are properly concerned about the growing campaign against college professors, scientists, and various unclassified eggheads. There is no comfort in the thought that the Nazis shared the National Observer's distaste for "overeducation."

Time for Decision

On February 12 the corporation of the American Civil Liberties Union, including the Board of Directors, members of the National Committee, and representatives of local affiliates, meets in New York. It is a crucial convention, for its task is to decide whether the organization shall continue to exist for the purpose for which it was created: the defense of civil liberties.

No organization in the United States has a more gallant and respected record in defense of civil liberties than does the Union. This fact carries with it a heavy burden of responsibility. While some defense organizations perform valid functions even though certain of their activities involve a wavering or inconsistent position on civil liberties and the Bill of Rights, the A. C. L. U. has no reason for existing except insofar as it gives unequivocal support to both. It is not the function of the Union as an organization to become involved in ideological conflicts, political or religious, to pass judgment on parties, individuals, or ideas. Its sole task is to protect the civil liberties of everyone in the United States.

This used to be regarded as a truism, but with intensification of the cold war and its effect on the domestic political climate, official and unofficial efforts have been made to warp the Union from its proper function. There are those who would use the organization's prestige to sanctify the undermining of civil liberties for public servants or Communists, or even individuals who challenge the wisdom of American policy. Pressure has been generated within the organization. Board members are disturbed by outside attacks on the Union as "subversive" or "un-American," even though intellectually they properly evaluate the attackers. For months some members have been seeking to accomplish the impossible task of "adjusting" civil-libertarian principles to meet the demands of those within and without the Union who wish to enlist it in the cold war.

THE outcome of these pressures was three policy statements which were circulated to members of the National Committee and to the local affiliates throughout the country and which have been published in a local affiliate bulletin. The first of these statements, on the basis of sweeping historical and political generalizations, proceeds to approve guilt by association while denying that it is doing so. The second statement asserts the necessity of a United Nations security program, but recommends that it be directed by that organization rather than by any member nation. A final proposal amounts to endorsement of Congressional investigations of the Jenner type, including all but automatic discharge of employees for use of the Fifth Amendment, and the questioning of teachers about their political beliefs. In effect it describes as "sensitive," positions in educational institutions as well as those in government or the United Nations. Thus the Board declares, "we believe that it is not a violation of civil liberties for employers in those types of work—including government, the United Nations, and educational authorities—to take into account the refusal of an employee or prospective employee, on the ground of possible self-incrimination, to answer questions asked by any duly constituted authority and relating to his present, recent, or pertinently past membership in, or submission to the discipline of, the Communist Party or other totalitarian organizations, and to give such weight to the refusal as may be appropriate in the particular circumstances."

This statement clearly contradicts the A. C. L. U. position that a teacher should be judged on the basis of individual performance and makes illogical the Union's professed opposition to such legislation as the Feinberg law. Beyond this it is a most dangerous and insidious policy to extend areas of "sensitivity" to include educational institutions in the sense that certain government positions are properly considered so. This doctrine would be appropriate only in a totalitarian society where the educational system is under direct political control. It is no justification of these statements to suggest that, given the present climate of opinion, something far worse might have been expected. Now more than ever before in our history it is imperative that any organization acting in the name of civil liberties should declare its profound and unequivocal support for the Bill of Rights.

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In spite of great pressure from the National Board a referendum of the A. C. L. U. corporation rejected the change of policy embodied in the three statements. The National Board then overruled the referendum. At its week-end meeting, the corporation must now decide whether the principles embodied in these statements shall become the policy of the American Civil Liberties Union. In our view there can be no compromise in dealing with the issues involved. Old-fashioned civil libertarians understood that principles were tested and democratic procedures were given meaning by the defense of the marginal members of our society. The Civil Liberties Union throughout its history has taken the position that the Bill of Rights applies to all people. In these new statements the National Board abandons this position. Yet it is clear that if civil liberties can be whittled down for one section of the population, it is only too easy to whittle them down for others. The A. C. L. U. has itself furnished an example of the danger of embarking on this slippery path. In its *Weekly Bulletin* of January 18, 1954, it gives tacit support to the Attorney General's list of subversive organizations: ". . . any review of the federal employee security program should consider the need to provide for confrontation and cross-examination of accusers and independent boards outside of government to review cases, and *to restrict the use of 'subversive' lists to the Attorney General's official list,* to guard against 'loose unreliable charges against individuals.' " (Italics ours.)

As long as it continues to support civil liberties to any degree, nothing the A. C. L. U. can do will satisfy *Counterattack*, or the Veldes, the Jenners, the McCarthys. It is impossible to accept McCarthy's premise that Communists should be excluded from the protection of the Bill of Rights and at the same time defend the principle of civil liberty. What is needed is not compromise with McCarthy's position but leadership in the attack upon it.

There is evidence that an increasing number of people in this country are looking for such leadership. They are prepared to support those who will challenge the professional anti-Communists who themselves employ totalitarian methods. But tortuous verbiage designed to avoid collision with the McCarthys or Brownells will not provide a rallying point for their scattered forces.

Can the American Civil Liberties Union provide the needed leadership? And is it prepared to do so? These questions are central for the members of the corporation assembled this weekend in New York. The members should protest the Board's overruling of the organization's voice as expressed in the referendum. By so doing they can reaffirm the will of the A. C. L. U. to regain its historic role of defending civil liberties for everyone.

KEY TO DEADLOCK

In the Berlin Talks . . *by J. Alvarez del Vayo*

Berlin, February 8

AS THE discussions here go on, the difficulties in the way of a solution of the many-sided German problem become crystal clear. One discovers this not only from the daily speeches of the four foreign ministers in a conference which has turned out to be much more spectacular in its shifts and changes than had been expected, but also from numerous private conversations with prominent persons. Both public and private statements reveal the pernicious, cumulative effect of the campaign of propaganda, contrary to the very spirit of negotiation, which has been carried on for years through the press, the radio, the United Nations, and all other organs of public opinion. But if a solution for Germany is harder to find now than it was four years ago, it is not likely to become easier after a delay of another year or two.

The difficulties are of two sorts—international and domestic. The first result from the antagonism between East and West; the second from the antagonism which divides the Germans themselves—those who believe the menace of fascism has not been liquidated and see a continuing peril in the rapid revival of Nazi influence, and other Germans who look back, not toward Hitler who could not give them victory, but toward Bismarck—which is even more dangerous. It is obvious that the German question would have been easier to solve if the *détente* of the last few months had been more real. From this point of view Molotov, whose diplomatic skill at this conference has won tributes even from the opposite side, was right to propose beginning with a study of the causes of international tension and of ways to reduce or end it.

On the very day that Dulles sought to reassure Molotov that the sole purpose of American policy was to relieve just such tensions, the press carried an announcement from Washington that the first B-47 jet bombers had been sent to Morocco. "From the North African bases," the dispatch said, "potential targets in European Russia and the Black Sea regions would be within the range of the B-47's."

One conclusion emerges from all this: as long as the basic reasons for a mutual lack of confidence remain, isolated gestures of conciliation, while welcome, have only a limited value. The conversations between Dulles and Molotov on the Eisenhower plan for an atomic pool which took place here last week were

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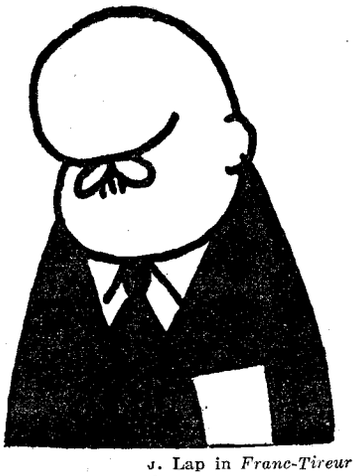
limited to procedural questions and could not offset the suspicion with which the Kremlin views the Western policy centering around the Bonn government. It is in this context that one must interpret the quick Russian reaction to the Eden plan for free German elections—the charge that it was intended to extend the rule of Bonn to the whole of Germany "against the will" of the German people.

RUSSIAN DISTRUST of the "Bonn-Washington axis" is the biggest single obstacle to a substantial change in the Russian position, however many secondary concessions Mr. Molotov may make. One of West Germany's cleverest politicians, former Minister of the Interior Heinemann, hit the nail on the head in a letter he wrote the other day to Dr. Adenauer: "The Chancellor's policy," he said, "will make reunification impossible because the Soviet government understands the aims of the West German government and knows that it will pursue a policy of attachment to the West even in a united Germany." Heinemann is of course correct. As long as the threat of German rearmament continues —even if the European-army project fails in the French Parliament—the Russians will permit their zone to join West Germany only under a guaranty of the Oder-Neisse line and a peace treaty concluded along the lines of the Potsdam agreement.

In fact, Russia will not consider itself protected against the danger of German irredentism unless there is a fundamental change in American policy, which must include substantial modification of the system of bases encircling the Soviet Union now held by the United States and its associates. The new peripheral strategy of the United States and the repeated emphasis by American political and military spokesmen on the use of atomic weapons make the Russians believe more than ever that the question of Germany and the question of bases are vitally connected.

To these difficulties are added those deriving from the state of mind of the two Germanys, waging a cold war of their own. The thousand or so journalists covering the conference go every day, after the meetings are over, to press conferences organized by the Russians, the Americans, the British, and the



J. Lap in *Franc-Tireur*

Molotov

French. These are usually held simultaneously; so the journalists visit them in turn. Only a few are interested enough in West German opinion to pay a daily visit to the Bonn delegation at its headquarters in the Hotel am Zoo. This is one of my favorite trips. Talking to the delegates in German, one is able to get a more intimate sense of how sure of itself the Bonn government feels and how unwilling to make the slightest concession to the "satellite government" of Pankow. These diplomats of the Hotel am Zoo are not dilettantes. They are veteran career men and I remember when some of them served under Hitler. I will give you an indication of their way of thinking. I asked them whether they would consider, as an alternative to the Western specifications for free elections, the formation of a committee of West and East German experts to prepare the elections from which an all-German government would issue. Not a chance, they said. They reject any idea of putting the two Germanys on a footing of equality. They see the unification of Germany as the simple absorption of East Germany by Bonn.

Even the Eden plan is far from satisfactory to them. A number of perils, they believe, lie in the *Zwischenstadium* (intermediary stage) suggested in it. They say that under the Eden plan six months may pass before an all-German government is formed and still more months before it can take over from the authorities in the eastern zone. They also object to the idea that the East German government should continue to function during the period while the National Assembly is emerging from the free elections in East and West and the government appointed by it is assuming power as the highest authority in Germany.

WHILE THIS MOOD prevails in West Germany, East Germany replies with daily attacks on "Adenauer's American clique." Adenauer's policy is denounced in the East German press as treason and as sabotage of German unity. Along with this crude abuse of the West German Chancellor, the rulers of East Germany claim credit for the fact that although Bonn refuses to talk with them as one government to another, they have repeatedly invited it to meet for discussion of all the problems touching the future of Germany—an all-German government, free elections, and the rest. If the representatives of Bonn seem convinced that Allied policy is playing into their hands, the East German leaders are equally full of confidence. To be sure, they admit privately—making due allowance for the inevitable doses of propaganda—that the condition of West Germany is generally better than that of East Germany, owing of course to American aid. This means, though they would not admit it, that if the elections were to take place tomorrow, Adenauer would not need to worry. But since, even were the conference by a miracle to reach an agreement, the elections could not take place for some time, they expect that the situation would meanwhile change in their favor. They count on two things. First, through the great effort they are now making, with the help of Russia, they expect conditions in East Germany will improve. They hope to provide more and better and cheaper food and other commodities—a policy paralleling that now pursued in the Soviet Union. Second, they predict that conditions will get worse in West Germany as a result of the economic crisis they believe will develop within the next year or so. This would particularly affect employment. All in all, East Germany feels strong enough not to be at all inclined to bow to a *Diktat* from Bonn.

Given the international and domestic factors and the state of mind prevailing in both Germanys, the question is how can the conference make a practical start toward cooperation between East and West Germany, without which the prospect of a solution in Germany is exceedingly remote. My own explorations lead me to conclude that it would be a

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small but positive achievement to encourage contacts and collaboration in those matters of daily life that are of equal interest to the peoples on both sides. A beginning could be made with the organization of common economic services in Berlin—transport, currency, and so on. A precedent for this already exists. West German commercial relations with East Germany have been turned over to a *Treuhandgesellschaft* (trust company). This device permits the West German government to carry on various activities with its East German counterpart through the intermediary of a private organization, thus avoiding official recognition of the East German authorities. Increasing contacts of this nature to settle problems, especially the practical problems, common to both Germanys, should gradually create a different and better atmosphere. They would also create institutions and lay the groundwork in Germany itself for the process of reintegrating the country when the great powers finally reach agreement on a German policy that will repair the damage done by the cold war.

IT IS only in the light of the enormous complexities of the German problem that the deliberations here can be judged without prejudice. On the central problem of all-German elections, Dulles and Bidault, traditionally devoted to parliamentary democracy, surely felt that they had put Molotov on the spot last week. Said Dulles: "The basic impression I get is this: Mr. Molotov is afraid of genuinely free elections." Bidault put it more gently: "The corollary to free democracy is free risk. We may lose in an election, or Mr. Molotov may lose. We are prepared to take the risk." To which argument Molotov answered that it was through "free elections" that Hitler came to power, and he might have added that it is precisely because many Frenchmen are not prepared to risk the rise of a new Hitler that opposition in France to E. D. C. is so great.

It was to avoid the risk involved that Molotov made his major bid to prevent the integration of Germany into a Western military system by proposing that the German people be given an opportunity to vote on whether they wanted a peace treaty or E. D. C. The West ridiculed the plan, but was it really so silly? The West Berliners whom I sounded on the subject rejected it, of course; they said it was "trickery." But they admitted it could have its effect on many pro-Adenauer and pro-West Germans who are asking themselves, as they see the Berlin conference nearing a deadlock, whether the Chancellor's policy does not imply the indefinite postponement of a peace treaty and the indefinitely prolonged division of Germany.

We shall see whether the restricted sessions which begin today will lead to some kind of accord that may later be used to take the conference out of its present stalemate on Germany. Anyhow, so long as the talks continue it is premature to speak of a breakdown.

Sidelights on Berlin

Berlin (by air mail)

BOTH West and East showed suppleness during the first week of the conference. As the caravan of seven Soviet-delegation Zis limousines raced to the opening session, an observer remarked that they were saving their brakes to use at the conference table. But the brakes were at first not applied. Diplomats who had known the stern and vituperative Molotov for years could hardly recognize him amid the tulips, hyacinths, and lilies of the valley in the Potsdamerstrasse meeting room. "His words," said an American delegate, "seemed to roll from his mouth and sit down." In return for the West's adoption of his agenda, he consented to have his two pet projects—a Big Five meeting and disarmament—referred to a restricted sitting. And he quietly dropped his plea to admit East and West German envoys to the sessions.

The compromises proved rewarding for both sides. By yielding to the Russians on the agenda issue the West garlanded itself with the wreath of conciliation and prepared public opinion for a show of firmness on substantive matters. Today nobody in or around the conference or the home chancelleries believes armed conflict is imminent even if the ministers part without reaching a single major agreement. How different from all previous post-war meetings of the Big Four!

★

The era of sweetness and light lasted only a week. By the beginning of the second week Molotov was directing against the United States his old charges of war-mongering, while Dulles threw into his adversary's face some kind words for Hitler which Molotov had uttered in October, 1939.

★

The fight on the E. D. C. which underlies this whole conference is epitomized in the contrast between two statements, one from Eden's proposed treaty on Germany and the other from Molotov's. Said Eden: "The all-German government shall have authority to assume the international rights and obligations of the Federal Republic and the Soviet zone of Germany and to conclude such other international agreements as it may wish." Said Molotov: "Germany shall undertake not to enter any coalition or military alliance directed against any country which participated with its armed forces in the war with Germany."

To those who hoped for a successful outcome to this conference, the saddest part about this exchange is that each side knew in advance that its proposal was unacceptable to the other.

★

Certain other features of each plan must have been drawn up in full knowledge that they were unacceptable to the other side. The Eden draft, for instance, provides that the commission to supervise the all-German election shall reach decisions by a majority vote, which means that Russia would be outvoted with monotonous regularity. The Molotov draft, after stipulating that no political or military obligations assumed by either half of Germany shall be imposed on the unified Germany, provides that the unified Germany must recognize the Oder-Neisse frontier, which East Germany alone recognizes today.

On one important point the initial Russian draft is demonstrably weak in achieving the Soviet Union's own professed goal of keeping Germany down militarily. The draft provides that the unified country shall have no more than

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a "baby" Wehrmacht, designed for defense only. Western diplomats are asking how this can be accomplished without external controls. Yet the Soviet draft provides for none.

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The current quip is that the four ministers before dispersing will agree to convoke a meeting with China next summer on Far Eastern questions and will demand that the first item on the agenda be Germany. Seriously, it is important to note that the West has carefully kept open the possibility of a Far East meeting, insisting on only two main conditions: that the agenda be limited to Korea and Indo-China, and that Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia be invited to the debate on Indo-China.

★

Bidault may not long survive this conference. In proclaiming his "leadership" in Berlin, Messrs. Dulles and Eden may have pushed him not only forward but flat on his face. For the main theme at these sessions is Germany's unification, an aim far from the aspirations of millions of Frenchmen. Moreover, Dulles's big Christian heart has been beating not only for his buddy, Bidault, but also for the downtrodden German people. Dulles's thunder against Versailles, Yalta, and Potsdam grated on French nerves while it rang like a Wagner motif in German ears. Even the American-run RIAS radio station in Berlin wisecracked: "Deutschland, Deutschland über Dulles."

★

During the conference Adenauer's unofficial observer in West Berlin, Wilhelm Grewe, has been making secret journeys to the city's Soviet sector. Whom has he met there? Molotov declared that the moment had come to initiate at least cultural relations between Russia and the Bonn republic. Perhaps this explains why Bidault, at private luncheons with French journalists in Berlin, began to speak of Molotov as "that *salaud*."

★

Nevertheless, Molotov has said a good deal which interests Bidault very much. The disarmament proposal, dismissed by Dulles as old hat, was bound to appeal to the French. If there is any hope at all for eventual disarmament, they think, why not proclaim a moratorium on German rearmament in the meanwhile?

Again Bidault reacted differently from his Western confrères to Molotov's warning that the Russians would respond to a new German army by forming a military alliance in the East. Dulles scoffed that this was standing history on its head, because the West had banded together as an answer to an already existing network of Eastern alliances. But the French saw Molotov's statement as pointing to the full-scale rearming of East Germany. If the Russians meant business, they could order Grotewohl to introduce conscription in the Soviet zone and take other steps to transform the present ramshackle military police of East Germany into an effective armored and mechanized force.

France and other countries adjacent to Germany would look upon these as ominous moves.

★

Meanwhile Adenauer is spreading the story, based on intelligence of dubious authenticity, that the Soviet Union is in the grip of so acute an economic and political crisis that the West need have no fear of the Russian power factor. Adenauer spoke in that vein at a secret meeting of the Christian Democratic Party's political committee in Bonn the other day. Most Western diplomats think this kind of wishful thinking does nothing to improve the anti-Communist position, which must be based, they feel, on realistic appraisals all around the board.

T. S. Y.

THE PERIL IS NOT RED

In Central America . . . *by Flora Lewis*

Mexico City

WHETHER the American republics shall formally condemn Western Hemisphere communism will be an issue at their tenth congress in Caracas in March. The advisability of presenting a resolution is already being sharply debated. Each foreign office is considering the consequences, and the United States State Department is sounding them out.

The main butt would be Guatemala, which recently charged that the United States was involved in an "invasion plot" against it. None of the other countries are happy about the open pro-Soviet propaganda that comes from Guatemala, but they have wide differences of opinion on how strong a hold Guatemala's Communists have on the government. To most of them certain problems underlying the situation in Guatemala seem far closer and more pressing than communism. All Guatemala's neighbors are puzzled by the United States' exclusive preoccupation with Reds. Even leaders far on the right, like President Anastasio Somoza of Nicaragua, are disturbed.

Somoza complains that the United States pays too much attention to its enemies and is indifferent to a country like his own that is governed by staunch anti-Communists—anti-everything, in fact, but Somoza. More democratic leaders deplore the single-minded anti-communism of the United States because it bolsters the feudalists in Latin America and heightens the barriers to needed change to the point where only extremism can assault them. They fear that a protest against Guatemalan communism may turn into a move against land reform and nationalization.

On both sides there is dread of any action that might weaken the doctrine of non-intervention. Neither side would

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mind a little pressure on the other. President José Figueres of Costa Rica, for example, would not be upset to see the United States more abrupt with President Marcos Perez Jiménez of Venezuela, and Perez Jiménez feels the same about Figueres. Everybody agrees that the United States had better let Latin Americans work out their own political salvation, but everybody wants better economic treatment of some kind—favors as to prices, tariffs, profits, or outright funds.

Their reaction to any pressure from Washington prevents the American republics from probing frankly into communism's precise position in the hemisphere, which is a pity, for there are misconceptions, wilful or naive, on all sides. Furthermore, the Latin Americans' reluctance to air the facts leads the United States to feel that they do not appreciate the dangers of the cold war, and this widens the gap of misunderstanding.

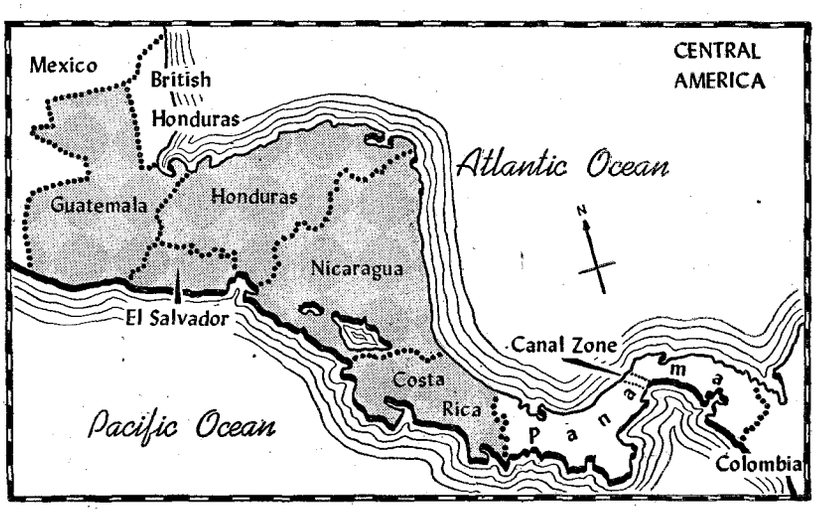
THE FIVE countries of Central America are, from north to south, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica. Panama is considered part of South America, presumably because of its long connection with Colombia. The colony of British Honduras, called Belize by the Guatemalans, who claim the territory, is a part of Central America by virtue of its geography alone. It has no other claim to membership in the bickering family.

All the countries are tiny, both in extent and population. Their total area is 183,184 squares miles, about the size of California with Maine tacked on, and their total population is 8,032,875. The population remains relatively stable, the high birth-rate characteristic of poverty being countered by the high death-rate due to malnutrition and primitive conditions. Only Salvador is crowded, but luckily its land is fertile and its people industrious.

All have their tropical, humid jungle and their cooler highlands. With the striking exception of Costa Rica they contain many fewer people who can read and write than those who cannot. Staggering extremes of concentrated wealth and widespread destitution characterize their agricultural economies. In the last few years comparative prosperity has come to them through the single factor of soaring coffee prices, but the new wealth for the most part has gone into the hands of those already rich. This has created the classic revolutionary situation.

Yet real revolution, in the sense of profound and violent social upheaval, is still beyond the horizon in Central America. Apathy is great; community feeling is dim. Great-power rivalries and the struggle of other countries for independence have not galvanized the region as they have Africa and the East. The militant nationalism that is the first step to revolution in backward areas has not been fanned into flame.

The church is also a factor against rabid nationalism. Catholicism is the universal religion of Central America, but it is a foreign religion. Yet while in the back country it may be little more than a veneer overlaying ancient pagan cults, even so it serves to prevent the introspective nostalgia that can be cultivated into a consuming hatred against all that is foreign in race, culture, color, economics, as well as religion. There is not much basis for emotional turbulence in Central America, serious as are the politic, economic, and social problems.



THE SUDDEN furor over their fate surprises the Central American countries, for they have been feeling neglected for some time. They count up the dollars the United States spends in Europe and the Far East and think that charity might begin nearer home. And when Assistant Secretary of State John Moors Cabot announces in so many words that the one test for deciding United States policy toward Latin American countries is whether they are with us or against us, they feel puzzled. Communism is simply not a real issue to them. Even in Guatemala the arguments are about land reform, imperialism, and so on, not Marxism versus capitalism or—at least not very frequently—Russia versus the United States.

It seems to Central Americans that if the United States were really interested in their welfare it would accept as uppermost the problems which actually worry them most. These differ considerably from country to country, but the desire for economic development and national respectability is paramount everywhere. That is perhaps a fancy way of describing nationalism, but it is a fairly explicit way. A nation tends to consider its self-respect sullied if some one foreign concern within its borders is as powerful as its own government. More than anything the United Fruit Company does or does not do, the irritating thing about it to Central Americans is its size and their dependence on it. That is why the United Fruit Company fails to convince its Central American critics when it points to the real benefits it has brought their countries—better wages than the usual rate, more health, education, and prosperity than would probably have been achieved without it.

Most Central American leaders grant that the United States government has a right to concern itself with obtaining fair treatment for its citizens. But they insist that the United States also has a duty to support Central America's demands for fair treatment. Their fear is that the United States may confuse their own desire for fair treatment with com-

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munism. This is not to say that Guatemala's quarrel with the United States arises from its search for pure justice. The Guatemalan government is under strong Communist influence. President Jacobo Arbenz is not a Communist himself, but he has defined himself as anti-anti-Communist and permitted Communists to take over a large number of critical government jobs. The opposition has perforce disintegrated. It is subversive to be anti-Communist. The government parties have been infiltrated. If ever Arbenz should decide to make an about-turn, no political force would be ready to rally behind him.

The only power uninfluenced by communism in Guatemala is the army. It is being well looked after now—good pay, good housing, special privileges—and it is remaining neutral. The United States maintains a good-sized military and air mission in the country and has returned the air base built during the last war. This may be something of a risk, but it is not the crazy act the critics call it. It would clearly be a greater risk to abandon any chance of building up friendly relations with the officers who could be decisive in a showdown.

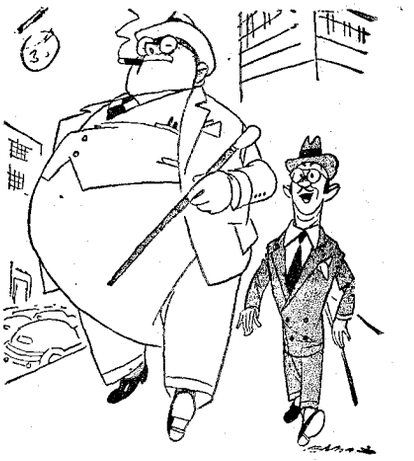
HOW HARD Guatemala's Communists are working to push their tentacles into neighboring countries is not easy to determine. Although the extreme left in Mexico has lost the powerful influence it exerted a generation ago, Mexico is undoubtedly still the headquarters for Soviet activity in the region, if only because it is the one country which receives a Soviet embassy. Propaganda goes out from there, together with a certain amount of strategic supervision and perhaps some money, although the coffee-rich Guatemalan government does not lack funds. Not long ago the Soviet commercial attaché in Mexico, Mikhail Samoilov, made a trip to Guatemala ostensibly to look into trade possibilities. He took along a few samples of cameras and radios. But British and American officials in Guatemala, who watched Samoilov as closely as they could, decided that his salesmanship was at best half-hearted. They guessed that his was a reconnoitering mission, more political than commercial.

Tales of Russian plots to soak up all of Central America's coffee dollars with cheap Soviet exports are jungle fantasies. Europe is moving back into the market, as is natural after its war-time exclusion from Latin American trade. Occasionally East Germany and Czechoslovakia manage to sell some of the products they sent out before the war. But their sales, compared to those of Britain or West Germany, or even Italy, are tiny and, compared to those of the United States, microscopic. Outside of Guatemala and Mexico they have made hardly a noticeable effort.

In Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, and Panama the Communist Party is now outlawed. Of course Communists still operate—except in Nicaragua, where General Somoza stamps hard when he puts his foot down—but only in Honduras have they a chance to become effective. In the coming elections there the Liberal Party will be in the running for the first time in over a generation, and it is commonly assumed that at least part of the money the Liberals are spending must have been wafted to them from across the Guatemalan border. Some prominent Liberals have close connections with Guatemalan politicians. The chance of forming a pro-Communist movement in Honduras depends on what happens to the Liberals and how they react.

Communism in Central America is obliged to use the mechanics of other causes to lift itself to power. It has no direct appeal for the masses of the people, illiterate and disinterested in the complexities of politics. Not even land reform is much of a slogan outside of Guatemala, for there is a lot of empty land in the region. When political parties are receptive, they offer an easy way to move in, but except in Guatemala they are not receptive. In Costa Rica, where the Communist Party is legal, it has been forced into an alliance with the Conservatives. President José Figueres's energetic program, combined with his open hostility to the Communists and his repeated acceptance of United States leadership in the cold war, has left them with neither an effective battle cry nor useful friends. The armies of Central America, which are the final arbiters in politics, are neutral toward communism if not hostile. Trade unions, which the Communists can reach, are generally young and weak and are developing a distaste for infiltration.

Communism is still a feeble and alien



Cabral in *Novedades* (Mexico City)

"I hear there's going to be a meeting of the big powers."

"Well, I hope they'll leave the little ones in peace."

allegiance. British Guiana, which on a map can appear as one arm of the red pincers whose other arm is Guatemala, has really no connection with Latin Middle America and exerts no influence. Firm British action in Guiana shocked a number of Latin Americans because it reminded them that native governments in colonial countries can be overturned by the stroke of a European pen. But there is scarcely any community of interest or any communication between the South American colonies and the Spanish-speaking republics.

Despite the disagreements that are bound to keep popping up, most Central American leaders see their countries' best chance in resolving, not sharpening, their conflicts with the strongest American republic. Their future is deeply enmeshed with that of the United States, and they know it. If the feeling is kept mutual, the Communists cannot offer much.

Until recently the United States could not have boasted of its record in Central America. Now, in a quiet way, it is doing a good job of helping the various countries along their way. Point Four, Export-Import Bank development loans, the aid furnished by the United Nations and the World Bank, to which the United States is the major contributor, are smoothing the people's feelings toward the North American republic. While Washington's neglect of Central America's pressing problems is still criticized, it is more welcome than the old exclusive emphasis on the United States' own commercial interests.

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THE REAL SPLIT

Rich World, Poor World . . *by P. M. S. Blackett*

London

IT IS an undeniable fact that the rich countries of the non-Soviet world are getting richer at rather a rapid rate while the poor countries can barely keep from sinking deeper into poverty. What are the implications of this fact? And how will future scientific advances and political actions affect the tendency? After buzzing in my head for a long time, these two questions began to buzz louder during a recent scientific lecture tour which included two very different countries, Australia and India. I remembered that a recent United Nations report showed that Australia, like Great Britain, had an average income per head in 1949 of around $800 a year—a little over half the average for the United States—while the corresponding figure for India was about $60.

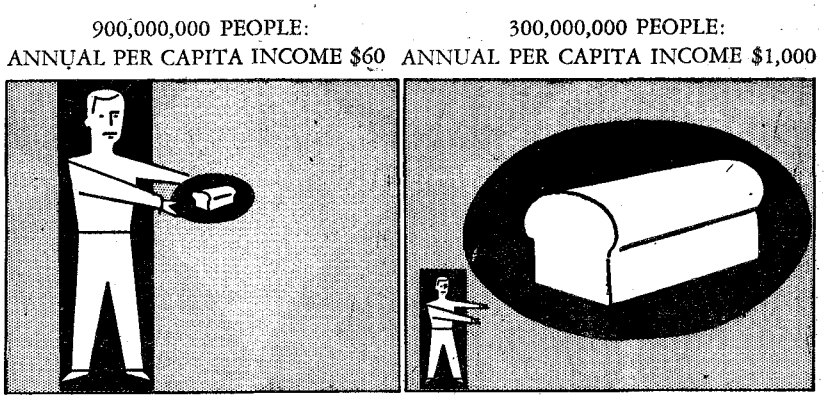
Let us take as the rich countries the United States, Great Britain, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Scandinavia, the Low Countries, Switzerland, and France. The average per capita income of the 300,000,000 or so people of these countries is about $1,000 a year. At the other end of the scale are the 900,000,000 people of Africa (excluding the small white population), the Middle East, and Asia (excluding China), with an average income of about $60 a year. Moreover, this huge gap between the wealth of the poor countries and the wealth of the rich is steadily widening. Since the war the average real income per head in the rich countries has probably increased by about 3 per cent a year, while in the poor countries it has not risen appreciably.

It is perfectly clear why the gap is widening. The rate at which the wealth of a country increases depends on how large a fraction of that wealth is not consumed today but saved and invested for tomorrow—in new industries and improved agriculture, transport, and housing. A rich country can afford to invest a large fraction of its great wealth; a poor country, with its people near the level of subsistence, can with difficulty invest a much smaller fraction of its smaller wealth. The rich countries may be able to save and invest only 10 per cent of their annual income—that is, about $100 a head—but this is much more than the amount that the people of the poor countries have to live on.

It is mainly through the medium of new investments in agriculture and industry that advancing science and technology can increase the wealth of a country. This fact, however, seems sometimes to be forgotten. Enthusiasts are apt to imagine that science is a magic wand which, waved over a poor land, can transform it into a rich one. Some science is indeed relatively cheap to apply—for instance, medical aid in general and DDT and penicillin in particular—but though these may add to health they do not necessarily add to wealth, owing to the resulting rise in population. In general, a country can make use of the great contemporary advances of science and technology only to the extent that it has an investable surplus of wealth over its current consumption needs.

This state of affairs has existed in essentials for several decades. What is new is that it is now seen to have profound international significance. The reason becomes clear if we compare the political status of some of the underdeveloped countries in 1920 with their status in 1950. In 1920 India, Burma, Ceylon, and what is now Indonesia were colonial countries ruled and administered in all essential matters from London or The Hague. The chief economic interest of England and Holland in these colonies was to develop them as a market for manufactured goods and as a source of primary products—oil, rubber, tea, coffee, and so on. Industrialization of the colonial countries was not encouraged, lest they compete with the home countries.

When, after the Second World War, many of these countries threw off white rule, the ills of Southeast Asia—poverty, underfeeding, disease, and illiteracy—became important factors in international relations. For the new countries of Asia were now able to make their own internal and foreign policy, based on their own view of their own interests. They could choose for themselves with what countries they would trade or have



The large figure represents the people of the poorer areas of the world—Africa (excluding the whites), the Middle East, and Asia (excluding China). The small figure represents the rich countries—the United States, the British Commonwealth (excluding India and Pakistan), Scandinavia, the Low Countries, Switzerland, and France. The loaf of bread represents the income of each group.

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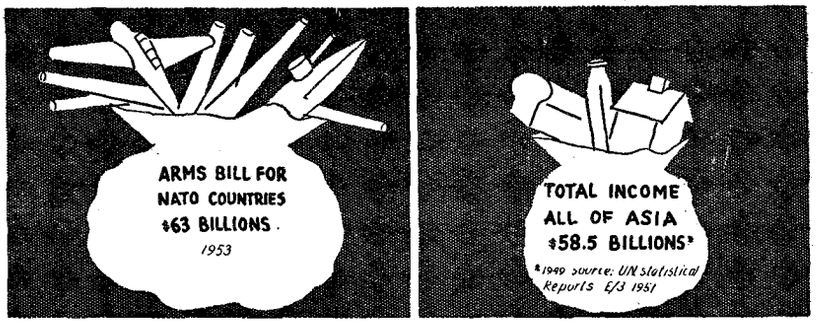
close diplomatic and military relations. Moreover, no political party in these new Asian countries could hope to maintain itself long in power if it did not succeed in improving the lot of its people.

It has been notoriously hard, particularly perhaps for an Englishman, an Indian, or a Chinese, to look with detachment on the long period of white supremacy in the East. With the vanishing of this supremacy, objectivity is becoming easier. At any rate, the West has no longer an excuse for not appreciating the Asian viewpoint. If one reads "Asia and Western Dominance" by the candid and fair-minded Indian scholar-diplomat K. M. Pannikar, and meditates on some aspects of the story he tells, one is inclined to adapt the old aphorism which was born of the Irish situation and say, "History is something that Europeans ought to remember and Asians ought to forget."

CONDITIONS in the underdeveloped countries are well known. They have been the subject of many books and innumerable reports, memoranda, articles, and speeches in recent years: for instance, the reports on the Colombo Plan, the Gray and the Rockefeller Report to the President and President Truman's subsequent Point Four speech, some detailed studies by the United Nations. Comprehensive accounts of the whole situation are to be found in Stringfellow Barr's "Citizens of the World" and Harold Wilson's "War on World Poverty." From these reports and books one concludes that the external financial aid required by Africa and the Colombo Plan countries if they are to raise their living standards at the same rate as the rich countries cannot be less than around ten billion dollars a year, that is, some $10 a year per head. At present the total aid for these countries is probably less than one billion dollars a year, only 10 per cent of what is required. In this estimate the inevitable big rise in population has been allowed for. Even if vigorous action were taken to reduce the rate of population increase, it would bring tangible results only very slowly.

No one, of course, imagines that the poor countries could immediately start to spend ten billion dollars a year if such a sum were made available. All kinds of social, political, economic, and



NATO's arms bill for 1953 was greater than Asia's entire income for 1949 (latest available figure).

educational problems have to be solved before a poor and backward people can transform itself into a dynamically progressive society. Moreover, the drive to do so must come mainly from the country itself, not from without. But bearing all these provisos in mind, one still cannot have the slightest doubt that vastly greater amounts of capital could be rapidly absorbed, particularly in India.

In broad terms, then, the poor countries will lag still farther behind the rich countries unless their own efforts, however heroic, are supplemented by external aid amounting to about $10 a year per head of their population. Much more aid would be needed to narrow the gap quickly and decisively. The burden of such aid on the rich countries would amount to some $30 a year per head, or 3 per cent of their income. It seems clear that if this aid is provided at all, it must be mainly as a free gift, for loans, carrying interest and the obligation of repayment, are not an answer to the problem of developing rapidly a poor country like India, which has no large exportable surplus of primary products and is not likely to have one in the foreseeable future if its living standards are to rise quickly. Moreover, the tide of Asian nationalism is running too high for foreign aid to be paid for by large-scale political or economic concessions as in the heyday of white colonialism. The policy of "trade not aid," though perhaps adequate for helping some of the Western countries, is not suited to the relations between the Western powers and the poor countries of Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

In the Colombo Plan emphasis was placed on the value to the Asian countries of expert advice on technical problems. Much money has been spent on sending out experts to them and also on training Asian students in the advanced countries. Valuable as these schemes may be, they surely cannot take the place of material aid. For the reports of the experts can often be implemented only by the expenditure of large funds. It is said that ministries in some Asian countries have on their desks a pile of admirable experts' reports which they cannot put into effect. Then again, when the Asian student returns home he can apply his new technical skill only if large-scale industrial and agricultural developments are in progress; and without adequate capital such developments are impossible.

DO THE RICH countries have any reason to provide such massive aid to the poor countries that the gap between their living standards would start to narrow? They might be influenced by moral or religious considerations; they might hold it to be morally wrong for such huge differences in wealth to exist. Or they might have economic reasons: poor countries are poor markets for manufactured goods. Or political and military reasons: the poor countries may find it to their interest to direct their trade and exert their political and military strength in directions which do not please the rich countries. At the present time this last—the political and military motive—certainly provides the main incentive. Some countries, of course, have a special interest in the problems of the underdeveloped countries. In particular, Australia, with its sparsely populated continent so near to the crowded lands of Southeast Asia, is acutely conscious of the impact of the situation on its White Australia policy.

But in general aid today is being recommended primarily in order to prevent these countries from moving farther away from the political orbit of the

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Western powers; economic aid has become, in fact, a weapon in the cold war. Since it is motivated less by charity than by fear, what if the fear recedes? Here lies a stiff test of the political wisdom of the Western powers, to which I feel not nearly enough attention has been given. Now that world tension is definitely slackening, the purely economic problem of providing aid to the underdeveloped countries is becoming easier for the Western powers. Already they are starting to cut down on their sixty-billion-dollar annual military budget. One-sixth of this sum diverted to Asia and Africa and the Middle East would solve the immediate financial problem of aid.

It is hardly necessary to mention the many reasons why this is unlikely to happen—at any rate soon. But the situation may change. While the fear of a third world war is receding, fear of the startling economic progress of the Soviet bloc is growing more compelling. On the basis of the most cautious of prognostications by the experts, the challenge of the Soviet economy during the next decade—assuming no third world war—is likely to be very sharp. Its biggest political repercussions may well be in Asia.

ARE THE BRILLIANT achievements of scientists and engineers to lead, then, to a still greater contrast between the rich and poor countries? I do not know the answer. I think, however, that it is interesting to turn one's eyes away from the future and let them rest for a moment on the past. During the last hundred years the main internal political struggle in many industrialized countries, certainly in Great Britain, has centered on the large difference in wealth and power between the rich and poor classes. Such differences were held to be both morally wrong and, in the long run, economically and politically disastrous. Many believed, too, that unless the social structure of Great Britain were drastically altered, the gap between the rich and the poor would widen until it became intolerable. The struggle to make the social changes required to narrow this gap has been the life-blood of the rising labor and socialist parties. For them self-interest and idealism have gone hand in hand. Much has been achieved by their effort: the modern welfare state with its successes and limitations has come into being, and with it a considerable degree of internal stability.

However, the world is not a welfare world—or a stable one. I believe that these two facts are related and that one of the most effective approaches to world stability would be to take some big steps toward a more uniform distribution of the world's wealth. This is a task which might not only make the possibility of real peace exciting but do much to revitalize the slightly threadbare idealism of the progressive political parties of the Western world.

Only when the world's wealth has been more equally distributed can the individual scientist expect his scientific work to be used to the full for the benefit of the many.

KIT CLARDY

"Junior McCarthy" . . . *by C. L. Barker*

Flint, Michigan

KIT CLARDY is a freshman Congressman who is rapidly earning for himself a reputation as the "junior McCarthy" from Wisconsin's neighboring state of Michigan. On February 22 he is bringing a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee into Detroit, Flint, and Lansing for a series of hearings which will uncover—so say the advance billings—"at least 400" heretofore unknown Communists. Two advance agents have been in the area for some time, passing out subpoenas with the aid of the Michigan state police. It is reported that subpoenas have been received by students of the University of Michigan, members of labor unions, and leaders of alleged Communist-front organizations. In Flint the subcommittee is expected to explore attempts by Communists to establish strongholds in General Motors plants in 1949.

The hearings are nicely timed to bring Clardy's name into local headlines just as he is about to launch his campaign for reelection in the fall. They are not in the least likely, however, to mitigate his unpopularity with the powerful United Automobile Workers. No sooner had the hearings been announced than the General Council of Ford Local 600, ruling body of the largest local in the world, condemned the un-American Activities Committee and pointedly reminded Congress that it would do better to investigate unemployment instead of communism in the automobile industry in general and the Detroit area in particular. A week later *Ford Facts,* Local 600's newspaper, blasted Clardy for attempting to "bring McCarthyism into the state," for developing "hysteria against labor leaders, educators, and ministers," and for trying to "destroy the Bill of Rights" and to "undermine labor and prevent the U. A. W. and its locals from carrying out their program for full employment."

Similar sentiments were expressed by the executive board of Local 742, representing the workers of the Briggs plant in Detroit, which passed a resolution stating in part: "We will call on our membership and on the international union's executive board to oppose the Un-American Activities Committee coming into Detroit, Flint, and Lansing. . . . We will give every aid possible, including financial aid, for the legal defense of any member dragged before this committee." Clardy placed Local 742's statement in the *Congressional Record* with

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the comment that he wanted to inform the House of "the kind of tactics being used by the opponents of this committee." Shortly afterward James W. Cichoki, president of the local, declared that he had "no intention" of refusing to cooperate with a Congressional committee investigating communism in labor.

CLARDY is a wealthy Lansing attorney specializing in work for motor-carriers engaged in interstate commerce. He was born in Butler, Missouri, in 1892 and brought up on a farm near Liberty, Missouri. He took his first year of college at William Jewell College at Liberty and finished at the University of Michigan, where he also obtained a law degree. He began the practice of law at Ionia, Michigan.

After taking an active part in the 1926 gubernatorial campaign he entered the Attorney General's office and in 1931, under a Republican administration, was appointed to the Michigan Public Utilities Commission, now known as the Michigan Public Service Commission. In 1932 the state elected a Democratic governor, the late William A. Comstock. In 1934 Governor Comstock removed Clardy as chairman of the commission. Two of his colleagues resigned under fire, but Clardy resisted the ouster and the case was taken to the Michigan Supreme Court.

It was charged by the Attorney General that the commission under Clardy had favored big trucking companies by extending them more than $25,000 worth of credit to enable them to obtain state licenses, while at the same time refusing permits to small operators. Another charge pertained to a petition by the city of Dowagiac for a decrease in gas and electric rates; it was claimed that Clardy and his colleagues pigeonholed the Dowagiac case for more than eight months after completing hearings. Another was that the commission hired an expert to appraise the properties of the Michigan Bell Telephone Company when citizens were demanding a rate reduction and then refused to act on his recommendations. The Attorney General also asserted that the commission's pay roll was loaded with friends of legislators and that Chairman Clardy had permitted actual falsification of records.

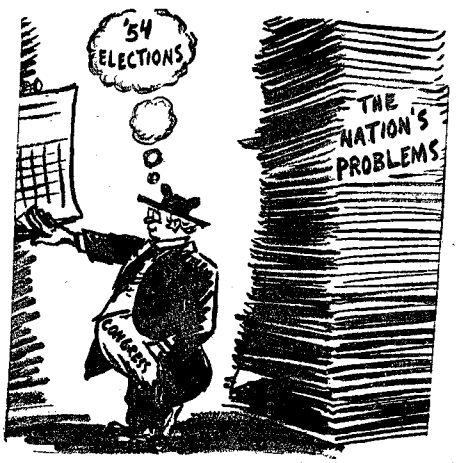
The Supreme Court, dealing with only three of the specific charges handed down a unanimous decision upholding Clardy's ouster. Written by the chief justice, the opinion stated that "under the constitutional provision the governor not only had the power but it was his duty to remove him [Clardy] from office under the charge preferred. . . . There was competent evidence to establish the truth of these charges." Clardy insisted then and has insisted ever since, that he was made a political victim.

In the following years he built up a lucrative law business and became finanthen, and has insisted ever since, that concerns. He took little part in politics until 1950, when he made a bid for the Republican nomination for Congress in the Sixth District and was defeated. In 1952, when the incumbent, William W. Blackney of Flint, retired after serving several terms, Clardy won out in the Republican primary against three opponents and in the election defeated the Democratic candidate, Donald Hayworth, a college professor in East Lansing. Clardy received 108,263 votes against 96,682 for Hayworth.

In Congress Clardy was placed on the Un-American Activities Committee. On May 14 of last year he reported as follows on a committee hearing in New York: "The Communist Party held meetings before we appeared. They organized their members so they could take over the hearings. And they did turn out in large numbers. The handbills they distributed threatened to run us out of New York. Well, they didn't succeed."

HIS VOTING RECORD has been a mystery to many Republicans, but it is in line with his campaign charges that the Democrats were running wild with government expenditures. He voted against the Eisenhower proposal to admit 200,000 refugees from Iron Curtain countries and against free wheat for Pakistan. He was in favor of every proposal to cut foreign aid and even voted against the mutual-security program that the Administration carried through. He has predicted passage of a bill introduced by Representative Harold H. Velde which would empower the Subversive Activities Control Board to investigate labor unions and determine whether they are dominated by Communists. If so, they would automatically lose federal recognition as proper bargaining agents.

Clardy often seems to be a bouncing, bumptious political oddity who may well be dubbed the "junior McCarthy." Speaking before the Flint Civitan club last fall, he quoted from a resolution adopted unanimously by some thousand delegates to the A. F. of L. American teachers' convention in Peoria, Illinois, which stated: "Through the failure to



Dell in the *United Mine Workers Journal*

First Things First

limit the scope of such investigations to legitimate purposes and to scrupulously maintain the historic distinction between the legislative and judiciary functions of government, such investigations have tended to become inquisitions posing a threat to constitutional liberty. This is alarming to all anti-Communist liberals and all genuine adherents of democracy." Clardy said this was an illustration of how Communist aims are fostered by some good people like teachers.

When he talked recently to the Genesee County Bar Association, he was subjected to incisive questioning by prominent Flint attorneys. Asked about a possible comparison between Senator McCarthy and Hitler, he replied: "I know Joe and respect him very much as a hard worker doing a wonderful job." To the question, "What about fascism?" his answer was: "The war is over; we defeated the Germans; there is no danger of fascism." Next came: "How about native fascists?" "I did not know there were any native fascists," Clardy said.

He has indicated he would favor a law to outlaw communism, and the Un-American Activities Committee has proposed amending the Smith Act to make membership in the Communist Party prima facie evidence of conspiracy to overthrow the government.

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BOOKS

The Problem of Poverty

THE WHITE MAN'S DILEMMA. By John Boyd Orr, with the Cooperation of David Lubbock. London, George Allen and Unwin, 9*s.* 6*d.*

THE LIMITS OF THE EARTH. By Fairfield Osborn. Little, Brown and Company. $3.50.

THE ECONOMIC IMPACT ON UNDERDEVELOPED SOCIETIES. By S. Herbert Frankel. Harvard University Press. $3.25.

PROBLEMS OF CAPITAL FORMATION IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES. By Ragnar Nurkse. Oxford University Press. $3.

WORLD POPULATION AND PRODUCTION: TRENDS AND OUTLOOK. By W. S. Woytinsky and E. S. Woytinsky. The Twentieth Century Fund. $12.

By Keith Hutchison

A CENTURY hence historians may see in Mr. Truman's Bold New Program the most momentous event of his Presidency. True that program was bolder in conception than it has so far proved in execution. Nevertheless, it did call attention to the wide and dangerous gulf between the productivity and living standards of the Western nations, with less than one-fifth of the world's population, and the masses of Asia and Africa. And it has led to numerous pilot experiments, under the guidance of Point Four or United Nations experts, that are sowing the seeds of progress in many lands.

Another useful result of Mr. Truman's initiative has been the stimulation of public interest in the underdeveloped countries, an interest that is being catered to by an increasing number of writers and scholars. All the books listed above deal with aspects of the international problem of poverty. Two are popular expositions by noted scientists of the perils of the race between population and productivity; two are rather technical collections of essays by economists. The fifth, an immense and ambitious survey of world resources, human and material, in relation to world needs, provides an indispensable reference tool for statesmen, diplomats, international planners, writers—in fact, for everyone concerned with international economics. Here are innumerable tables, charts, and maps, supplemented by full historical and explanatory notes. Here the researcher can find such facts, to give but a few samples, as the racial composition of the Brazilian population, the fertility rates of Swedish women, the comparative yields of sugar cane in Hawaii and Puerto Rico, and the area of productive forest in Tanganyika.

Many of these statistical data bear directly on what Lord Boyd Orr, former director of the U. N. Food and Agricultural Organization, calls the great "*material* issue" facing mankind—"whether the earth can be made to supply sufficient food for its rapidly increasing human population." The scientist–elder statesman gives an optimistic answer to this question with the proviso that the powers of science must be fully applied to development of the world's potential resources. "The great need," he writes, is for "fewer soldiers thinking of armaments and more statesmen thinking of food for the next generation."

At present, despite recent advances in agricultural techniques, population is outstripping productivity. The relatively well-fed countries, this book points out, are now better fed than before the war, but world supplies per capita of leading foods, except sugar, are less than in 1939, so that conditions in the ill-fed countries are growing worse. To end this deterioration, to abolish chronic malnutrition, and to provide for growth in population, it will be necessary, Lord Boyd Orr estimates, to double food production in the next twenty-five years. He believes this goal is attainable. By applying agricultural science to land now cultivated, average yields, he suggests, could be doubled. In addition, much waste land could be brought into use by irrigation and other methods, and there are hopeful possibilities for the synthetic production of some foods.

Mr. Osborn, equally concerned about the pressure of population on the food supply, is pessimistic about the possibility of establishing a balance unless the practice of birth control spreads rapidly. He notes that today there are only five "food-long" countries and that in two of these—Argentina and Australia—surpluses have declined in recent years owing to forced-draft expansion of industry at the expense of agriculture. Nations dependent on food imports can no longer count on steady supplies from these countries or, in the long run, on exports from the United States and Canada, whose own populations are growing.

The author takes a quick look at some other areas often described as ripe for rapid development. He believes that the productivity of Africa can be increased substantially provided the African is allowed to share the benefits of modern technology—a condition, as he points out, stubbornly ignored by the present rulers of South Africa. Another apparently underpopulated area with large production potentials is the Amazon Valley. Here again are institutional impediments, particularly a land-tenure system that discourages close settlement. It is not lack of knowledge, Mr. Osborn emphasizes, that hinders fulfilment of the world's material needs; it is the barrier "imposed by conditions, cultural and economic, that govern men's actions."

Such conditions in Africa are a major theme of the essays by S. Herbert Frankel, professor of colonial economic affairs at the University of Oxford. His book, unfortunately, is not easy reading, since he is addicted to sociological jargon and has a decided penchant for oblique statement. Nevertheless, some of Professor Frankel's observations might well be taken to heart by Point Four planners: for instance, his exposure of the fallacy that provision of technical know-how and capital is all that is required to raise the productivity of a backward society. "Change which is not in harmony with the social resources and needs of a community," he writes, "may well prove to be not a blessing but a

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KEITH HUTCHISON, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is the author of "The Decline and Fall of British Capitalism" and other books.*

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curse. It is here that the economist may be of help in examining the relative individual and social costs and benefits of alternative choices, and in disentangling the real from the apparent expected effects of the fiscal and economic burdens involved."

Alternative choices for undeveloped countries seeking to break "the vicious circle of poverty" by accelerating investment are discussed by Professor Nurkse of Columbia University. In such countries, he points out, "a circular relationship exists on both sides of the problem of capital formation. . . . On the supply side, there is the small capacity to save resulting from the low level of real income. The low real income is a reflection of low productivity, which in turn is due largely to the lack of capital. The lack of capital is the result of the small capacity to save, and so the circle is complete." On the demand side there is an intersecting circle, since low buying power, due to low productivity, inhibits investment to raise productivity.

It is impossible in the course of a review to follow the author's subtle analysis of the various ways in which backward countries might escape from these imprisoning circles. One important point to which he returns continually is that "capital is made at home." Foreign loans may speed up investment and ease the pains of capital formation, but they do not relieve the recipient countries from the necessity of taking steps to promote internal savings. This does not mean forcing a reduction in consumption; in countries like India, where the great mass of the population exists at a subsistence level, that is hardly possible. It does imply measures to offset the inflationary potential of any investment program, however financed, and so insure that the fruits of investment are conserved to provide for a long-term increase in productivity instead of being currently consumed.

Professor Nurkse, addressing primarily his fellow-economists, has kept his discussion on a highly theoretical level. I have no complaint on this score: pure theory is as essential to the development of economics as it is to that of physics. But I would like to urge Professor Nurkse to consider a supplementary volume applying his theories to the specific problems of different types of undeveloped countries.

City Against Itself

BIG BILL OF CHICAGO. By Lloyd Wendt and Herman Kogan. The Bobbs-Merrill Company. $4.

FABULOUS CHICAGO. By Emmett Dedmon. Random House. $5.

By Nelson Algren

"TO HELL with the public," Big Bill Thompson's campaign manager said it for Big Bill. "We're at the trough and we're going to feed!" They fed well, and as they fed, Big Bill went on revealing an endless plot in which the superintendent of Chicago's schools was involved with the historians Merriam and Muzzey "for the purpose of perverting and distorting the ideals and patriotic instincts of our school children."

An investigating team consisting of one J. J. Gorman and Sport Hermann, a local yachtsman, were Big Bill's Cohn and Schine. The former denounced the head of the University of Chicago's history department as "the brother-in-law of James Angell, president of Yale University. He visited England a lot back in 1918. He was wined and dined in Windsor Castle." Sport, appointed by Thompson to the Library Board, reported back, "I'm gonna burn every book in that there library that's pro-British!" Asked whether he would resist, the head librarian replied, "Resist Mr. Hermann? Of course not. I am employed by him."

When asked why he had seized Alfred Bushnell Hart's "The American Nation," Sport's answer was that it had been dictated by King George: "A fella tipped me off—I can't just remember who the guy was that told me about them books but he said they're pretty bad. I haven't got the time to read them myself. But I'll turn them over to the Patriots' League or something and let them mark the passages they think are pro-British. Then we'll have something to go on." Again the head librarian proved himself a friendly witness by opening to Thompson a closet in which obscene literature was locked. The superintendent of schools was ousted by a vote of eighty to two, and the conspiracy to feed the American eagle to the British lion was foiled until the next election.

"Big Bill of Chicago" would read like a sprightly fantasy were it not for its dismaying application to the current hysteria. Eminently readable.

When Lloyd Lewis and Henry Justin Smith published "Chicago, the History of Its Reputation," in 1929 they rolled out a road well traveled since. Emmett Dedmon's "Fabulous Chicago" follows the familiar road markers faithfully—the Great Fire, the Haymarket Riot, the Everleigh Sisters, Al Capone, Sam Insull, and the World's Fair. There, where the road is unpaved, he quits cold. The risk of reporting the past two decades he leaves to bolder historians.

That "the city is conscious of its youth, eager to claim any mark of sophistication" is sufficiently true, and has been true ever since we first began alibiing the town's fabulous corruption on the ground of youthful animal spirits. But like a ribbon bow above a brow long marked by scar tissue, it isn't becoming any more. The Kelly-Nash machine, dismissed here by a single sentence describing Kelly as a "warm" mayor, was even warmer than that. "I'll do any damned thing you boys want me to do," Kelly once told his boys publicly. And he kept his word.

"There are reasons," Mr. Dedmon feels, "to think that Chicagoans are ready to end a system that for nearly a hundred years has been taken for granted."

There are also reasons to doubt it. "The cult of money which one encounters here," Simone de Beauvoir recently wrote of the city, "does not spring from avarice or meanness, but making money is the only aim one can set oneself in a place wherein the dollar is the spiritual denominator as well as the financial one." "The time is near," Mr. Dedmon adds, "when political reform as well as civic pride will pay; when the time comes there is no doubt the city will find the means to reform."

Reformers come and reformers go. And the city itself remains constant only in its ceaseless failure to overcome itself. Like man, it is engaged against itself. Like man, it builds its failures as well as

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NELSON ALGREN is the author of "Chicago—City on the Make."

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its successes out of that engagement. It is left, like man, the loneliest thing in creation.

"Fabulous Chicago" contains several anecdotes heretofore untold. But its chief justification is that it is illustrated so beautifully and bound so handsomely. It is by far the best job of book-making yet achieved in the Hinky-Dink and Bathhouse John trade; and may well put a stop to the traffic for years. Eminently lookable.

New Books in Brief

Changes Predicted in Russia

CRISIS IN THE KREMLIN. By Maurice Hindus. Doubleday. $3.95.

A prolific and knowledgeable writer on Russia provides another thoughtful book on his favorite subject, with the help of some rather dated first-hand impressions. His conclusion is that a popular desire for a change has been building up under Stalin's oppressive control and can no longer be ignored by his heirs. The reforms promulgated since last March "do not begin to answer the ever-surging pressures of the people," and therefore the era of real reforms is still ahead. If the Kremlin fails to respond to these pressures, there is, in the author's opinion, bound to be a palace revolution which will bring to power men more amenable to public desire for an easier and richer life. "I cannot envision," Hindus says, "any other kind of revolution in the Soviet Union, or any other historic process by which the Kremlin dictatorship may in the foreseeable future liberalize itself." He devotes much space to the growing maturity of the Russian people brought about by industrialization and the growth of rural collectives. At the same time he insists that the Kremlin's foremost problem is "the ever-present and ever-plaguing primitivism of the country, especially of the village."

The Latest in Evolution

MAN, TIME, AND FOSSILS. The Story of Evolution. By Ruth Moore. Drawings by Sue Richert. Knopf. $5.75.

A science journalist's very readable summary of the theories, facts, and problems of evolution from Darwin's day to the present. Though there is little that is novel in what she has to say about the Lamarck-DeVries-Mendel controversies, a substantial portion of the book is devoted to very recent developments which are only beginning to get into popular books. Recognition of the importance of the South African ape-man fossils and development of the new dating techniques—uranium for the ancient history of the earth, radioactive carbon for more recent history, and fluorine for bones—have come during the last ten or fifteen years. They have led to drastic revisions which can be summed up by saying that the earth itself appears to be a great deal older and *Homo sapiens* a great deal more recent than was believed only a few years ago. On the basis of fluorine analysis, the earliest known skull of a man very close to the modern in brain capacity is only about fifty thousand instead of a million years old, and though Miss Moore does not stress the fact this may bring some comfort to those who were appalled by the argument that at least a million years would be necessary to produce any significant improvement in the human animal as we know him. There is also a good chapter on the experiments which seem to suggest that we did not lose our ape jaw and learn to walk upright after we developed good brains but the other way around.

Wanted: a Miracle

NEW ENGLAND HARVEST. By Donald Babcock. Indiana. $2.75.
SONGS FOR A NEW AMERICA. By Charles G. Bell. Indiana. $2.75.

Donald Babcock is accomplished and genial but not so much a harvester as a re-harvester of the New England scene. There is no point at which one may quarrel with his handling of the poem; yet both his forms and his attitudes are dangerously foreseeable. Babcock's is an urbane and meticulous performance. What it seems to lack is that fine and final excess that sends a poem home to the nerve center. The minimum requirement of a good poem is a miracle. Who reads poetry for anything less?

Charles G. Bell works harder for the miracle and comes closer to it, but once more the question of attitude seems central. Frost offered the best definition yet of poetic attitude: "the way the poet takes himself and the way the poet takes his subject." Bell seems to take both just a bit larger than life. Of America—almost inevitably through a train or a plane window—this:

> From high above we saw America
> The symbol of its own expanse of spirit,
> This good earth Thoreau and Lincoln
> walked on,

At what point does oratory as ordinary as this become poetry?

Bell has enthusiasm and gift, but he betrays his own process by studding the poem with the over large and the too easily come by. Thus in one of the European poems (in the process of kissing his Florentine lady-love goodby):

> "Tomorrow you must go." She turned
> Full face her sorrow. I spoke: "Against
> your peace
> I cannot work, such is the time's
> disease."

A sadly limp bit of dialogue on the way to as fine a finish as:

> Fell the night;
> And the burning Simonetta filled my arms.

We wish Mr. Bell more of the true, the burning Simonetta. And less of the time's disease, any amount of which is currently available at your bookseller's.

Marxist Economics

THE PRESENT AS HISTORY. By Paul M. Sweezy. Monthly Review Press. $5.

"The Present as History" brings together thirty-four essays and reviews which Dr. Paul Sweezy has written over the past fifteen years. Their range is wide. There are separate essays on the Marshall Plan, the American Ruling Class, Capitalism and Race Relations, Germany, National Socialism, Imperialism, and a variety of other themes. Yet the volume is remarkably coherent. It demonstrates Dr. Sweezy's quality as a professional scholar in classical, neoclassical, Keynesian, and Marxian economic theory. In his essays on Hayek, Luxemburg, Sternberg, Veblen, Keynes, Schumpeter, Pigou, and Hansen a lay reader can easily distinguish what the economist said and what his critic is saying. This is a virtue of high order in economic literature.

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Nothing has stamped the past generation of so-called American Marxists more than straight-out, unqualified intellectual incompetence. This incompetence, compounded with arrogance, bad manners, and ritualistic political behavior, has produced that unhappy, tangled mass known collectively as the American left. None of this is to be found in "The Present as History." In four hundred pages of clear-headed writing there is not one instance of "misplaced concreteness." The author knows the difference between abstract concept and concrete fact. Also, Dr. Sweezy treats his opponents with dignity and respect. His review of Arnold Toynbee's "Study of History" is devastating, but nowhere is there any imputation of bad will or stupidity. He rips apart the flimsy premises of James Burnham's "Managerial Revolution," but never is there an expression of discourtesy. Dr. Sweezy understands, in short, that bad manners and personal abuse are not the indispensable weapons of political argument, that insult is not rational discussion.

Dr. Sweezy deserves admiration, too, because in a time of dangerous fear and hysteria he continues to advocate staunchly his basic convictions. "The Present as History," like his two previous major works, "The Theory of Capitalist Development" (1942) and "Socialism" (1949), gives proof of his complete command of Marxist economic thought. He now takes his place as America's foremost Marxian economist.

Argentine Realities

THOSE PERPLEXING ARGENTINES. By James Bruce. Longmans, Green. $5.

The author was United States ambassador to Argentina from 1947 to 1949; and the book proves he is no writer. Even the polished surfaces of reporting are beyond him. Yet it is doubtful whether many envoys to Hispanic America before the Roosevelt era could have done so honest and earnest—above all so respectful—a job of trying to understand a people so distinct from our own. Mr. Bruce is not equipped to interpret Argentinian complexities; he lacks the sociology, the psychology, and the aesthetic sensibility. Yet almost in spite of himself he reveals glimpses of the subtle realities of Argentina.

He is best, perhaps, in dealing with Evita Perón. The lady chose to play a mythic role before the Argentine people—a role which required that her body keep lean, although it was correct to clothe that body in the finest of fineries (as the Madonnas are decked out in the churches). Unfortunately, Evita had the tendency to put on flesh. To avoid fatness, she half starved herself, broke down her health with malnutrition, drugs, and overwork, and brought on the disease that killed her—according to Mr. Bruce.

This ironic episode is typical of Argentina, which might be likened to an Egypt whose lush horizontal lands are suddenly turned into a mountain country. The "earthquake" that has done it is, of course, the modern world, since 1914. The Argentines have had to adjust to a situation for which their success and their wealth had not prepared them—as the farmers on the slow banks of the Nile would not be prepared by their traditional technics to cultivate precipices near torrential waters. Mr. Bruce displays many of the paradoxical symptoms of Argentina's situation. But the reader who seeks a key to the puzzles of this still inchoate, profoundly potential people will be disappointed.

Out of Slavery

FREEDOM TRAIN. By Dorothy Sterling. Doubleday. $2.50.

The story of Harriet Tubman and her work in organizing the escape of slaves and conducting them North to freedom. Born a slave on a Maryland plantation, Harriet ran away with the aid of friendly Quakers and then returned to help her fellow-slaves. Altogether she crossed the Mason-Dixon Line about nineteen times and rescued more than three hundred men and women from slavery. A remarkable story which the author has attempted to make palatable for a wide audience by the excessive use of that hybrid form, the fictionalized biography.

Byzantine Art

BYZANTINE PAINTING. (The Great Centuries of Painting). Text by André Grabar. Skira. $20.

The 105 color plates in this volume are easily the most spectacular yet published in the increasingly competitive field of color reproduction. Except for the plates in Wilpert's great four-volume corpus (Freiburg, 1916), available only in major libraries of art and limited to examples in Italy, nothing has been attempted in the field of Byzantine mosaics and wall paintings which gives any conception of their overwhelming beauty. The tendency of the Skira people to overplay intensity in their plates here becomes a positive advantage; if some plates in previous volumes have made paintings look too much like mosaics, here the accuracy is almost unbelievable. One of the very great expressions of the human spirit is now accessible to those who cannot manage a trip to Ravenna, or Constantinople, or Cefalù, or Daphni, or Nerezi. As this art is profoundly modern, at least in its approach to space through line and flat color, the influence of this first book of adequate reproductions will be interesting to watch. It deserves an enormous success.

The text, by one of the foremost scholars of Byzantine art, is admirable in its balance of interest. The novice in these matters will gain from it a wonder-

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fully sensitive and informative introduction; and the specialist will find new observations, particularly on the use of color by the Byzantine mosaicists and fresco painters. The whole field, including work in the Dalmatian world, is expertly surveyed. André Grabar's "study" is in fact an important contribution to the literature of Byzantine art. One can only wonder at the policy of the publishers which reduces the status of the writer to the point that the reader can find his name listed only once, in small print on the title page.

Theater

Harold Clurman

I HAVE already noted my opinion, shared with practically everyone else, that Herman Wouk's "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial" (Plymouth Theater) is a thoroughly effective show—an ably written, shrewdly devised scenario on a fascinating subject played by a first-rate company which has been directed with great finesse. All this makes for an evening of capital entertainment. Having said this, my duty as a reviewer might be considered completed except that I ought to accord special praise to Lloyd Nolan for the concentrated vividness of his "breakdown" scene and Henry Fonda for the extraordinary economy of his performance throughout and the genuineness of his pathos at the end.

But this show is sufficiently outstanding and successful to induce some questions apart from its merits as pastime. What is important to criticism is not only effect but value. On this level, I venture to say that as a piece of theater "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial" is brilliant but uncreative. I find it necessary to say this because its method represents what many believe to be the theater's ideal: "it holds the mirror up to nature."

What do we mean when we speak of creation in a work of art? The artist "imitates" or mirrors an object in nature, an event or a recognizable idea or form found in the actual world. But we do not value this "imitation" except in so far as the artist makes us see, feel, or think something which was not directly perceptible in the material imitated in the first place. Chardin's or Cézanne's apples are not works of art because they look like apples. Every artist evokes from and through the material he employs —what he "imitates"—a sense of life which we deem important. This sense of life is personal in so far as we identify it with something peculiar to the individual artist's vision, impersonal in so far as this vision holds something of the universal truth of life. That is what the artist creates. Without this creation the "imitation of nature" is at best a toy, sleight-of-hand, cleverness.

"The Caine Mutiny Court Martial" is astonishingly convincing as a piece of reportage, a dramatic photograph in which every expected detail of the interesting proceedings is caught with amazing clarity. But except possibly for the moment in which Lloyd Nolan as the fumbling officer has his insecurity and obtuseness exposed, hardly anything is shown which is more than an imitation of what we already know. The entire production is a painstaking and craftsmanlike underlining of the obvious. Suspense is provoked and an enthusiastic approval of the fidelity of the recording, but no fresh human insight, no deepening of emotion, no particular understanding of the people presented is effected. The story is exciting, the telling is skilful, but the sum total is creatively flat, unrevealing—nerve-tingling but spiritually bare.

The theater, I believe, was not made for the "realism" of the optical illusion; it is not a place where we ought to go to seek a reflection of the familiar—the stereotypes of our workaday wisdom. The theater is a place for revelation, where our experience of life is extended, expanded, purified, and essentialized to some exalted knowledge beyond that of our casual selves. The theater of photographic "realism" has its uses, but it is dangerous to take its limited value as central to the theater's function. At bottom it is a theater for extremely simple-minded or extremely lazy people.

But, it will be objected, "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial" is more than a piece of melodramatic reporting; it bears a serious message. It tells us that though the navy and kindred bodies may have a few lamentably fallible creatures in high places, we should never overlook the essential human services these organizations render. Who denies this? Either Mr. Wouk is making a bold point or he is making a point that should be taken for granted.

If Mr. Wouk means that under no circumstances should we criticize the personnel of our great social institutions, lest we end by denigrating them and impairing their authority and ultimately their usefulness, he is putting himself in a position similar to that of the anti-Dreyfusards who claimed that the French army should not be forced to prove Dreyfus's guilt to the civilian world, since the army's decision had to be above the clamor of popular pressure, and that to bring such pressure was to shake the foundations of all society. I don't really suppose Mr. Wouk meant to suggest such a conclusion.

Democracy at the time of the Dreyfus case was itself being called into question because it was still a relatively new and revolutionary concept in France. But what is the purpose of Mr. Wouk's argument in America, where democracy is the governing principle of the nation? Is he only trying to point out to facile muckrakers and cheap hecklers of our defense services that with all their faults they saved us from Hitler and will continue to save us from all the abominations of tyranny? We are all as aware of this as Mr. Wouk. The only valid emphasis to be made in the circumstances of his play is that in a democracy such as ours an incompetent officer—even a naval captain—may be reprimanded and even relieved of his command without wrecking the morale or discipline of either the men at the helm or the men under them.

A disturbing ambiguity dwells at the root of this play. Either it is saying something that is almost pointless—I repeat, no one in America challenges the integrity or purpose of our basic institutions—or it is encouraging a general sense of complacency about them to which we almost take pleasure in succumbing because such an attitude is eminently "safe." It is a state of mind which regards any and all criticism of established orders as unwarranted and

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villainous. Conservatism may sometimes be given a tragically heroic aspect, as in "Billy Budd," but one wonders with "The Caine Mutiny Court Martial" whether it does not conceal what might be called a decrepit orthodoxy—the full implications of which are certainly anti-democratic.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE reports are that Columbia will not record the Metropolitan's production of the original Musorgsky "Boris Godunov," and that the reasons are commercial—by which I presume is meant that the recording would not sell sufficiently and would lose some money. But on the other hand Columbia has issued a three-record set of all of Schönberg's string quartets, which I doubt will sell enough to avoid a loss. It looks as though Columbia feels it should risk the loss on these works of Schönberg, but not on one of the greatest masterpieces of the operatic literature—which makes as little sense to me as Schönberg's quartets. Whether the performances by the Juilliard Quartet and Uta Graf, soprano, are good, I am unable to judge; and I don't even care.

In Schumann's "Davidsbündlertänze," which Gieseking plays on one Urania record, and his "Kreisleriana," which Gieseking plays on one side of another, the episodes in fast tempo offer some of Schumann's superb writing for the piano, which Gieseking plays very effectively. But the ones in slow tempo are excessively sentimental, or are made to seem so by the way Gieseking plays them. On the record with "Kreisleriana" is Bach's English Suite No. 6, which Gieseking plays sensitively, but most of which—with the exception of the Sarabande—I find uninteresting.

Chopin's Preludes are played on an Epic record by Cor de Groot with affectations and distortions that I find unpleasant to listen to.

Some of Bach's chorale-preludes for organ are among his finest and most affecting works; but these appear to include only a very few of the ones in the "Orgelbüchlein." I say "appear" because I write after listening to the Haydn Society's two records of the work, on which they are played by Finn Videro on the organ at Soro, Denmark, with registrations that sometimes strike my ear as tasteless and even freakish, and that often produce thick masses of sound in which it is difficult to hear the several voices even with the help of a printed score; and I recognize the possibility that clearer and better performances might reveal an additional number of good pieces.

Bach's four suites for orchestra are performed on two RCA Victor records by Reiner with an assembled Victor orchestra, and on two Bach Guild records by Prohaska with a small group from the Vienna State Opera Orchestra. For the Bach Guild performances a new edition was prepared, with what were considered to be historically correct realizations of the dotted rhythm in the overtures of Nos. 3 and 4, and of the ornaments throughout; and the results are convincing and effective to my ear. Aside from this Prohaska's tempos are more convincing and effective than Reiner's—with the notable exception of the famous Air of No. 3, in which it is Prohaska's performance that is too slow and Reiner's that flows easily. On the other hand the recorded sound of the Bach Guild performances lacks its usual clean definition in quiet, whereas the sound of the Victor performances is very good. The Bach Guild records come with a Lea pocket score of the music. As for the works themselves, I find again that I like only Nos. 2 and 3 and a couple of passages—the fugal section of the Overture, and the Bourrée—of No. 4.

In his "Lost Tradition in Music" Fritz Rothschild shows that many of the customary tempos for Bach's music are incorrect; and if he is right in contending that the tempos of Preludes Nos. 1 and 2 and Fugue No. 9 of Book 1 of "The Well-Tempered Clavier" are slow, then the fast tempos of Isolde Ahlgrimm's performances on the Columbia records of Book 1 are wrong. And if they are wrong the likelihood is that others are; but I haven't had the time to work out Rothschild's tempos to check them with. For the rest, Ahlgrimm's playing is simple and clear.

Bach's Cantata No. 70 "Wachet, betet, seid bereit allezeit," issued by the Bach Guild, is another of these works that I don't find interesting. Beautiful singing by the soprano Anny Felbermayer, the bass Norman Foster, and the chorus, with good playing by the Vienna State Opera Orchestra under Prohaska.

I have no recollection of the Dessoff Choirs—on the occasions that I heard them years ago—producing the dry, rough, opaque vocal sound of their recent Carnegie Hall performance of Mozart's Mass in C minor. Nor do I recall anything like the four-square slugging that was Paul Boepple's way of conducting the work, anything like the poorly paced, shaped, and phrased performance that was the result. Of the two soprano soloists Christina Cardillo had a lovely voice that she used without sufficient control, Shirlee Emmons a less agreeable voice that she used with ease and authority; and the only relief to the battered ear was provided by the fine tenor voice of John McCollum.

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Letters

Challenge to Jenner

Dear Sirs: I have sent the following communication to Senator Jenner which may interest your readers:

In a recent Associated Press dispatch you are quoted as saying that investigations being carried on by your committee include a probe into the "Communist activities of the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc." Your charge, thinly disguised as a mere statement of a routine investigative activity, is as dishonest as it is contemptible. You well know that in the prevalent state of fear and hysteria the words you use stand for subversion and disloyalty to the United States. Any investigation that may have been made by your committee or its staff has been *ex parte* and has not included an interview with me as president or with any person responsible for the activities of the organization. . . .

For my part, if you have any charges against me I suggest that you refer them to a grand jury in order that the truth of the matter may be arrived at in the American way, by trial in an impartial court, before an impartial jury, on the basis of evidence and not of gossip, and with the right to be confronted by my accusers. If you deem criminal procedures inappropriate to the situation, then in all fairness you should step from behind the shield of your Senatorial immunity and make your charges directly rather than by inference and innuendo.

I do not believe that you will dare take either of the two courses, for you also know full well that the only activity in which the Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., has been engaged has been its fight for the abolition of discriminations against American citizens because of race or color or creed, the ending of segregation in schools and colleges, the opening of hospitals to Negroes, and the doing away with all forms of inequality. You may regard this as un-American, but it is unthinkable that any American jury will agree with you.

AUBREY WILLIAMS

Montgomery, Ala.

Arms to Pakistan

Dear Sirs: The numerous statements which have emanated from Washington suggesting United States military aid to Pakistan threaten the volatile and already precarious relations between India and its neighbor. It is our belief that the hoped-for gain in military strength to combat communism may be more than offset by our loss of the confidence and friendship of India.

We cannot afford to decide this problem superficially; rather, the United States should examine carefully the historical and political situation in each of these countries and then evaluate the possible repercussions of such action. . . . The rift between India and Pakistan is deeper and is fraught with greater potential danger than people in the United States seem to appreciate. Only six years ago both India and Pakistan were torn by the mass migrations of millions of terrified people: more than six and a half million Moslems treked from India to Pakistan; more than five and a half million non-Moslems fled from Pakistan to India. Accompanying this mass shifting of fervently religious peoples, there were hideous massacres on both sides.

The Security Council of the United Nations obtained a cease-fire in Kashmir in 1949, but to both India and Pakistan, Kashmir is still an open wound. Rancor continues; religious differences inflame men's minds and threaten peace. Fear and tension are now intensified by the rumor of an offer of United States arms to Pakistan in the interest of preventing the spread of communism. Strife may break out between these countries if constructive steps are not taken to encourage friendly relations.

It is the intense poverty and misery of India and Pakistan which make them fertile soil for Communist infiltration and subversion. Adequate and intelligent economic assistance from the United States which will help to build up the strength of both countries to resist aggression will combat communism more effectively than military aid.

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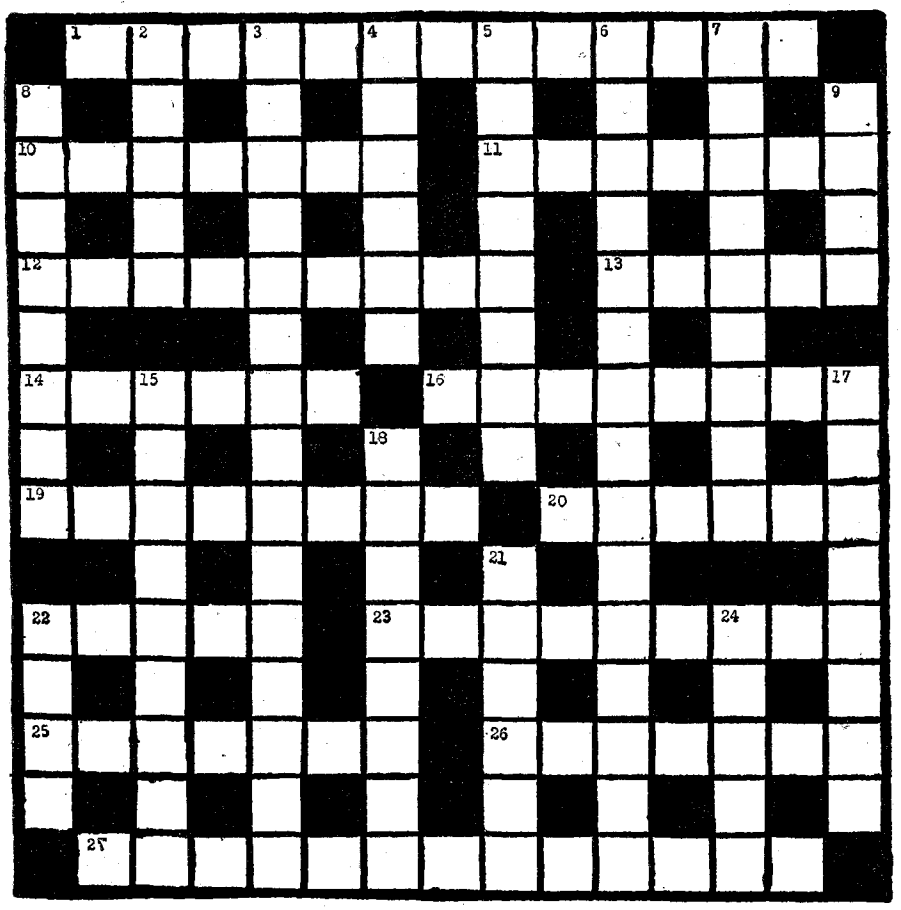
Crossword Puzzle No. 554

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 17 down. Cheap tee? It causes quite a commotion. (11, 2, 3, 5)
10 At heart, those who are dumb about sports. (7)
11 Graduate. (7)
12 Peter lies down at the beach, just for fun. (5, 4)
13 The strong point of one who has to have pull? (5)
14 Absorb. (6)
16 Coming out of agreement with a lost article. (8)
19 Enterprising person who secures game in Japan? (2-6)
20 Keen, in a more or less quiet way. (6)
22 Simple tool by the sound of it. (5)
23 and 7 down. ..WHE..,where we hate to get stuck. (3, 6, 2, 7)
25 A runner, probably .(7)
26 Capitals, found without a material change. (7)
27 This is the way tales get started. (4, 4, 1, 4)

DOWN

2 and 22 down. Sound like Mr. Hunter? (2, 3, 4)
3 Not affected by the indulgent. (5, 10)
4 Zwieback in the make-up of the art critic. (6)
5 Wrote of 13 and sure of 9. (8)
6 Very annoying to the teller! (15)
7 See 23 across.
8 Good for the British! That's one way to return some time after the service. (8)
9 Results start to mount up, with this operator. (4)
15 Go-between, with the poor man and the thief. (9)
17 See 1 across.
18 Square of steel put in its construction. (6, 2)
21 Miller's river enclosure? (The ultimate goes off the deep end.) (6)
22 See 2 down.
24 Draw your own conclusions from it (5)

—o—

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 553

ACROSS:—1 WHAT DO YOU KNOW; 10 LIMBO; 11 OVERDRAFT; 12 HIGH HEELS; 13 KRONA; 14 FREEWHEELING; 19 REASSESSMENT; 22 KYOTO; 24 LOSE HEART; 25 RHINE WINE; 26 VIVID; 27 INDEPENDENTLY.

DOWN:—2 HOMAGE; 3 TWO-THIRDS; 4 ODOMETERS; 5 OPENS; 6 KODAK; 7 ORATORIO; 8 ALPHA; 9 STRANGE; 15 HOMESTEAD; 16 EINDHOVEN; 17 BROKERS; 18 BACONIAN; 20 MARVEL; 21 STUDY; 23 OBESE; 24 LOIRE.

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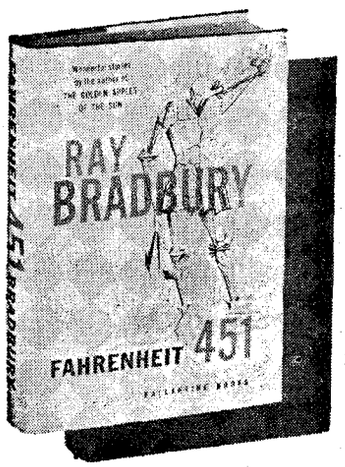

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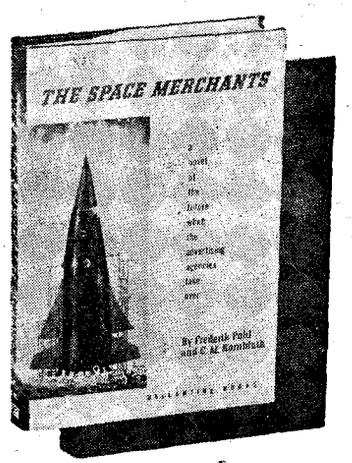

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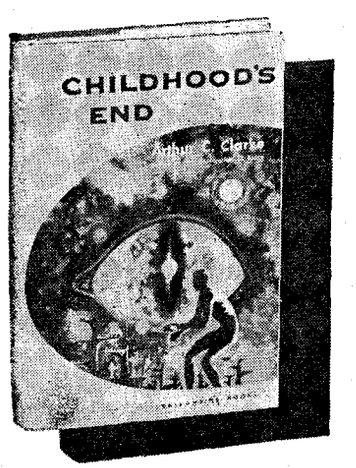

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